1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 802]

1. Anklet of bells worn by girls at dances [$\frac{1}{4}$].
2. Bell worn by warriors who, for bravery, are called 'L-oiñgok [$\frac{1}{4}$].
3. Cow-bell [$\frac{1}{4}$].
4. Ol-lenywa fan used by old men to brush away the flies [$\frac{1}{4}$].

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten čari ol-mōut, il-lenyok eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-turesh.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten čari o-sírua, naa 'n-gända eitauni, p' eänyeki 'n-gíshu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten čari e-sidai, naa 'l-ōpir eitauni pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Nepika sii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten čari ol-ñgatuny, naa ol-chōni lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-muran en-dōki naji ol-ñgatuny, naata 'l-papit adoru, nepik il-lughuny ten epwo en-jore.

[292] Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[293] Naa, ten čari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoñgoi, p' eitaa 'l-mórnak ol-lenywa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[534] Naa, ten čari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mōwarak, naaoshi te-'n-aidura pe meimin ol-orere.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[411] Naa, ten čari sii e-muny, neitauni e-mōuo negwetunyeki 'l-kuman ooidoñgyeki 'l-oroi oo 'l-oiñgok. Neitái sii 'l-kuman loo-'l-aigwenak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shañgit eataye 'l-Maasae en-giaa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ōwaru 'n-gíshu araki 'n-dare, pe edol il-Maasae, nōar, amu ājo: 'Eínos in-gíshu añg.' Ore 'l-ōwarak coinos in-gíshu oo 'n-dare, ol-ñgatuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ñgojine, o en-dersah.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

fire as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endungore-Engibata* is the election of the unit leader (*aigwenani*). This office is not popular with the boys, [43] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern. [44] The selected person is chosen from the so called *ingopior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WHITEHOUSE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes. [45] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *algwenani* is a black club, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new elect.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them. [46] These are called *mejengema*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk. [47]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks [48] is also

[43] For the same reason given for the *ol opolos*.

[44] WHITEHOUSE states that "the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves". On the other hand FOX, *l. c.*, p. 450, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61, states the boys elect one of their member.

[45] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Engidongi* clan, the clan of the *laibon*.

[46] According to DAWSON, the *mejengema* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the 'right-hand' unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the 'left-hand' unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[47] "The *mejengema*", writes DAWSON, "assemble in the middle of the village and the *Aigwenani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a *kudu* horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. There is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ho' from the *mejengema*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ho'". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mejengema*.

[48] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black!) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

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SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 30]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P.109-A] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

561 535 [386] [574] [262] warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group [534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

56 [302] [413] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family [825] [554] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing [189] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on [351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[692] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 54 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ñ gäminini = benefac- [556] tors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 578 682 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
[231 Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
824 donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
136] also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans), which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
• 534 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often

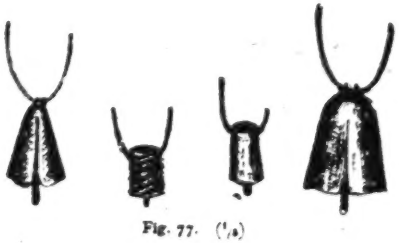

Fig. 77. (1/6)

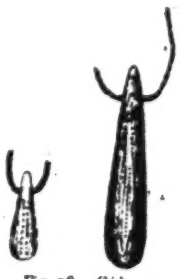

Fig. 78. (1/6)

of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated
233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/288 cont./

* 539 The plagues had created a hitherto unknown contrast of rich and poor. In order to alleviate this, to bring the impoverished back to well-being, Gulale arranged that the people of a larger circle gather together at the new moon of the seventh month, the ol ogunj' airodjerod. In this way he succeeded in having the tribal and lineage members meet at least once a year, become better acquainted and more closely joined. Apart from the fact that with the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity the sympathy for the fate of the impoverished tribal members grew, the new arrangement was primarily supposed to facilitate the kind of support prescribed in the sixth of the commandments imparted by Ol dirima. This feast on the seventh new moon of each year is called kitok n oloń essubaté. Messengers of the ol aigwenani announced the approach of the day in the individual districts, within which the people were then called together by the sound of the antelope horns serving as trumpets, as is still customary now for every gathering.

[202] [534]

Getobua gave birth to the boy Lengutok (engutok = mouth), who later, as a youth, was distinguished by great physical strength; if a lion approached the herd, he leaped upon it and strangled it with his hands. As a brave warrior, still young in years, he fell because of an arrow shot in battle against the el meg. Shortly before, he had married Lahaine, who had been named after a like-named mountain. After Lengutok's death she married an adopted son of Getobua, named Ngamnin, one of those orphaned children, and she bore him first a daughter, Nairenna. She was named this because at her birth the umbilical cord was wound around her neck (= os sotua erĭnaginno e murt). Nairenna later became the first midwife. Afterwards Getobua gave birth to the boy Gariuńgi. He invented the draw well (1).

1. ol gessimet, el gessimeti.

000 There remain to be mentioned a few reminiscences from the primeval age of the Masai, which cannot be classified in any definite place in the foregoing chronological account of their tradition.